PEACE NEWS

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NEW MOVE IN SAHARA A-PROTEST

Peace News Reporter

REPORTS THAT THE SAHARA PROTEST TEAM WERE RETURNING TO ACCRA AFTER THEY HAD BEEN STOPPED NEAR THE BORDER WERE INCORRECT.

As reported in PN last week, the team trying to halt the French A-tests crossed into French territory on December 9 and were halted by French officials 16 miles inside the border.

Soon after the team was surrounded by 100 French police armed with machine guns and isolated from the Africans in the area. French officials also refused to transmit a message to the President of the Upper Volta Parliament.

In the face of this guard the team decided to return to Ghana territory to consider their next step. On December 17, seven members of the team re-crossed the border into French territory.

After they had travelled 11 miles they were again surrounded by armed guards. But this time the officer commanding the troops said that he would have to consult the President of the Upper Volta Parliament before he took further action. A. J. Muste reports that the team feels that this was a back-down on the part of the French authorities.

Latest

The latest cable from the team tells of a new move in the protest.

In Accra on Wednesday afternoon a French Doctor of Law and Economics, Pierre Martin—who joined the Sahara protest team at Kumasi, Ghana, but later returned to Accra, when the team failed to enter Upper Volta through Bittou—was to start picketing the French Embassy.

The picketing was to start at 12 noon when Pierre Martin was to enter a lean-to which was being built on the pavement near the entrance to the Embassy offices (which are on the top floor of one of the biggest buildings in Accra.)

On Christmas Eve, M. Martin was to start a fast till New Year's Eve. The picketing and the fast are a protest against the French authorities' refusal at Bittou to allow the protest team to pass through Upper Volta on its way to Reggan, the testing site for nuclear weapons.

Pierre Martin is well known in European



Pierre Martin

(and especially French) peace movement circles, and has taken part in protests in France against nuclear weapons, including a demonstration at a French nuclear plant.

He joined the protest team in Kumasi where he was working for UNESCO, and would have been valuable to the team en route to Reggan if it had been allowed through, since he spent over a year in the Sahara working with the first French oil research teams and thus still has friends and contacts there.

Supporting actions in the USA

IN Hamburg and New York, protests in support of the team were held. From New York Jim Peck writes:

"After receiving a cable from A. J. Muste about the team's being stopped 16 miles inside French territory, we decided to start daily lunch-hour picketing at the French Government Tourist Office.

"It is located in the heart of the Fifth Avenue shopping section, whereas the French Mission to the UN and the Consulate are located in a swanky, residential neighbourhood with hardly any passers-by. The picketing started Dec. 15—12 to 2—and will continue daily until we get further word.

"We hope to have a major demonstration on January 15 in Philadelphia where the French National Exposition will open (it is to last ten weeks and will be a major promotion propaganda piece on the part of the French)."

In Germany and Britain

In Hamburg war resisters have been picketing the French Consulate each evening for one hour since the protest team set out.

A demonstration against the French A-bomb test was held in London on Saturday and Sunday. Members of the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament picketed the French Embassy for 48 hours. At times as many as 30 people were on the picket line at once.

On Saturday afternoon the picketers marched through the West-End and held a meeting in Manette Street where they heard news of the Sahara team.

To fight want

AMONG the countries who will have stands at next year's War on Want exhibition are Ghana, Israel, India, Malaya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan, Indonesia and Tunisia.

The exhibition will be held at the Central Hall, Westminster, from Jan. 16-23.

Of the UN specialised agencies, the Food and Agricultural Organisation, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation will have stands; among the industrial firms with stands are Unilever, Imperial Chemical Industries, Cement Marketing Board and the Anglo-American development Corporation; British organisations with stands include Oxford Famine Relief, Save the Children Fund, National Peace Council, and International Voluntary Service.

Entry to the exhibition and cinema will be 1s. for adults and 6d. for children.

In the evening, meetings will be held at the Central Hall in support of the exhibition. The full programme is not yet complete, but arrangements so far are :

Saturday, January 16, 2.30 p.m. Opening by Countess Mountbatten. Supported by ambassadors, high commissioners and patrons. **7.30 p.m.** Songs and Dances from many lands. Prices 5s., 4s., 2s. 6d., 1s.

Exhibition closed on Sunday, Jan. 17.

Monday, January 18, 10 a.m. Opening by Sir Isaac Hayward (LCC). **7.30 p.m.** Public Meeting. Chairman : Gilbert McAllister, Director General World Parliamentary Assn. Speakers : Father Huddleston, Rt. Hon. Philip Noel Baker, PC, MP, Nobel Peace Price .1959. Tickets free. Tickets bookable at 2s.

Tuesday, January 19, 7.30 p.m. Demonstration by Sword of The Spirit. Chairman : Rt. Hon. Lord Pakenham. Speaker : The Most Rev. J. C. Heenan, Archbishop of Liverpool.

Wednesday, January 20, 3.00 p.m. Women's mass rally. Presided over by Hilda Duchess of Richmond and Gordon, DBE. Speakers : Joan Vickers, MP, Eva Doods, Lucy Middleton (Chairman of War on Want). Free entry. Tickets available on request to women of all organisations. **7.30 p.m.** Co-operation against World Poverty. Chairman : Frank Beswick. Speakers : James Peddie, OBE, Elizabeth Cox, Rt. Hon. Hilary Marquand, PC, DSc, MP.

Thursday, January 21, 7.30 p.m. Songs and Dances from Britain and the Commonwealth. Chairman : The Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, QC, MP. Tickets 5s., 4s., 2s. 6d., 1s.

Friday, January 22, 7.30 p.m. The Church Speaks. Chairman : The Bishop of Sheffield. Speakers : The Rev. Edward Rogers, MA, President Elect The Methodist Conference. The Rev. D. R. Thomas, Merthyr Tydfil. Massed Choirs under Dr. Francis Westbrook.

Saturday, January 23, 3.00 p.m. Public demonstration. Speaker : The Chief Scout. Displays by Youth Groups. Attended by Youth Organisations. Tickets free. Collection. **7.30 p.m.** Mass Rally. Speakers: Dr. M. Moulik (FAO), Walter Padley, MP, and others.

Tickets are available from The Director, Frank Harcourt-Munning, 9, Madeley Rd., London, W.5.

Quakers to discuss economics of disarmament

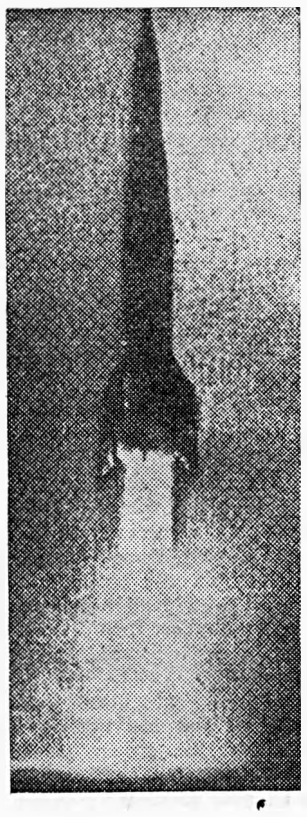
THE Northern Friends Peace Board, the Quaker peace organisation for the north of England and Scotland, is to convene a general conference on the economic consequences of disarmament.

In a letter to Quakers the Chairman of the Board, Charles Brunton, and the Secretary, Arthur Booth, say :

> "It will be remembered that during the last war various Government Committees were set up, one of them under Sir William Beveridge, to consider the transition from a War Economy to Peace, and that a Cabinet Minister was appointed for Post-War Reconstruction. We feel it is vital that similar action should again be taken in good time if the transition from arms production to the production of useful goods and services is to be undertaken willingly and without distress."

The Board's Annual Report, recently issued, records the part they played in demonstrations at the missile base at Breighton in East Yorkshire in the summer. They arranged a Quaker Meeting for Worship on the missile site before a march to Selby moved off.

MISSILE BASE PROJECT TAKING SHAPE



PEACE NEWS REPORTER

PLANS for the radical non-violent demonstration at the missile base at Harrington, Northants, on January 2 are now well forward.

The new Direct Action Committee which took over as the first leaders went to jail have been spending the last few days completing many aspects of the project.

A briefing meeting for volunteers was held in London last week-end to discuss several problems of strategy and tactics. About 100 people attended on Saturday and 60 the following day.

★

The Committee then met on Monday evening to draw conclusions from the conference. Preparations are continuing throughout the Christmas holiday period.

Plans to climb over the barbed wire fences at the base have now been dropped, as it was felt this brought too much of a commando spirit to the action and laid it open to easy misrepresentation. Instead, the main tactic will be non-violent obstruction, and the intention is to organise this on a round-the-clock basis. There has been considerable activity at the base recently and it is thought obstruction will be feasible

The address of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War is: 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4 (STAmford Hill 7062.)

On TV

THE International Pestalozzi Children's Villages in Switzerland and England will be featured in the BBC TV programme "Peace on Eearth" on Christmas Day.

An appeal for the Swiss village for European war orphans was launched in 1944 by Walter Robert Corti who argued that "Wars begin in the minds of men; therefore it is in the minds of children that the foundations of peace must be laid."

India and China—three comments

The Bhoodan Movement

From Wilfred Wellock, Lancashire.

LAST Thursday in a talk I had with Jayaprakash Narayan, in London, Jim Bristol's article on the Bhoodan Movement (PN, Nov. 20) cropped up. Narayan said that superficially the article might be correct, but looking deeper it gave a quite wrong impression.

The first aim of Vinoba's whirlwind campaign was to arouse India's villages and create a new climate of opinion and action. Vinoba knew that the campaign would proceed much faster than the follow-up work of consolidation, and argued that the latter could wait. He has recently slowed down the pace of the campaign and asked for programmes of concentrated constructive work. This, Narayan assured me, is happening in every state where Vinoba has campaigned.

"In my state," said Narayan, "really magnificent work is going on. In one Gramdan village all the workers are giving two hours per day, after their normal day's work, to making bricks and building houses. At present they all live in mud houses, but the entire village is to be put in brick houses. The site is planned, also the allocation of all houses, precedence being determined by need."

Another village has set up a co-operative organisation, including a co-op. bank. After paying good wages, the first year's profits are astonishingly good, and ensure new developments. Narayan is confident that when each state can show a nucleus of transformed villages the effect upon the community generally will be electric.

It is the inspiration of actual village transformation that the villages are awaiting. Given this and some guidance and oversight they will go ahead. The desire and the ferment are there already. Consequently a phenomenal development is expected within, say, the next six, eight or ten years.

Since then I have received a letter from N. Ramaswami, Editor of "Sarvodaya," who receives an air mail copy of Peace News. He is rather distressed by Jim Bristol's article "because it expresses the view of a person who has seen only the outside and not the hidden springs of what is essentially a great spiritual movement, the real significance of which cannot be seen immediately, but will be seen in due course." Mr. Ramaswami says a casual foreign visitor could not possibly perceive the psychological and philosophical foundations of the Bhoodan Movement.

Quantitatively the Movement has barely got underway; it could not do so in view of the numerous obstacles—legal, traditional, religious, etc., that had to be overcome. **The important fact is that the** villages want the Gramdan concept to prevail. They want and are ready for village land-sharing and all forms of co-operative action.

He says: "The first years of the Movement have revealed tremendous moral and spiritual forces that previously had been hidden. Gramdan villages had not been contemplated by Vinoba until he saw that the people were ready for them, as indeed they are. But the work of transforming them into real Gramdans is a gigantic task which has to be thought out very carefully. At last this big task is being undertaken. The important fact is that our Bhoodan workers have faith that their dreams will be realised."

I have promised these two boon companions to convey their views to Peace News.

READERS' OPINIONS

Gandhi and non-resistance

From Brian Selby, Copenhagen.

I WOULD like to submit for the consideration of Peace News readers a comment on Mr. James Bristol's article "Arms and the Gandhians" (Peace News Oct. 30) in which he sketched the current Indian situation from a pacifist point of view.

His advocacy of a Peace Army seems to raise a question which he did not consider in his article. If it is admissible to oppose an invading army by non-violent resistance, then the difference between non-violent resisters and the users of force appears to become a technical, not an ethical, issue.

If the intention of non-violence is to avoid killing or wounding human beings then the difference between my killing and placing myself in a situation such that someone else, due to his belief, thinks himself justified in killing me, is one of degree not of kind. It will be of little use for me to argue that the driver of the tank that runs over me because I am lying in the road should only resist my lying in the road by non-violent means. I will be dead and he will have killed me. Both ways a large measure of the responsibility is mine.

Mr. Bristol seems to advise the sacrifice of life in "non-violent resistance to evil," since it is unlikely that an invading army will, with bombs, guns and bulldozers, have great difficulty in advancing in the face of a Peace Army, even if it were thousands strong. How useful and how honest is this non-violence? The pacifist position as I see it is summed up by Albert Schweitzer's definition, in "Civilisation and Ethics," of "humaneness [which] consists in never sacrificing a human being to a purpose." (p. 224.)

The pacifist today is, I suggest, more valuable to mankind if he attempts to establish the respect for human life and recognition of the fallibility of all human opinions concerning good and evil which is the root of human ethics and which is shared to some extent by the ethics of most religions than if he is occupied with working out the conditions under which he is prepared to be killed and to commit another man to killing him.

The root of what I consider to be Mr. Bristol's too easy acceptance of non-violent resistance may be the fact that Gandhi had not penetrated to the centre of the problem of the use of force. It is from Gandhi, I think, that Mr. Bristol derives his preoccupation with forms of resistance rather than with the question of whether or not resistance in any form is an ethical course of action. Schweitzer points out, in "Indian Thought," that Gandhi had not freed himself from the concept of force. By non-violent means Gandhi forced other people, notably British authority in India, to do in the long run more or less what he wished.

I offer my views as an extension, not necessarily an opposition, to Mr. Bristol's. Is not a pacifist one who abjures force in any guise, seeking to establish the reign of humane reason in human affairs? Mr. Bristol assumes that "if an enemy invades or a hostile nation strikes" he will be able to decide if he is confronted with evil and tyranny on the march and that, having decided, he will resist non-violently "realising that our resistance may not prove effective in the immediate scene and that we and our families may suffer imprisonment, torture, or even death." There is a notable difference between this attitude and the idea of pacifism based on humane ethics mentioned above.

Mr. Bristol is supported in his point of view by his belief that "This we do undergirded by the faith that no action of this sort is ever entirely lost in the long stream of history, and that the world moves on a bit faster toward a just and free and decent society because of those who try to hold as close to the ideal as possible." I agree that a better world society will come about, if at all, by the efforts of those who cling closely to ideals but, judging from the gap between Mr. Bristol's position and that which I have outlined, there should be more precise discussion of what our ideals should be.

Finally, in the even of invasion my argument commits me to not resisting in any way. If I do not like life under occupation I may commit suicide. I do not wish to implicate anyone else in that act which I hope events will never lead me to think justifiable. To some extent I contradict myself in holding this view, but I think the contradictions in my attitude are less likely to result in avoidable injury to myself and others than those in Mr. Bristol's apparent situation.

Peking's actions

From H. Derek Brian, London.

BRUCE ODSPUR writes (PN, December 4) that:

"The policies of China and India over the last few months underline the immeasurable contrast between two countries united and freed from foreign domination by violent and by non-violent means. Whilst the Peking Government seems bent on repeating all the worst excesses of the Stalin regime—the precipitately enforced collectivisation, the purges, the ruthless expansionism—the Delhi Government has shown a restraint unprecedented in a Great Power."

Not one of these statements will stand up to examination.

1. Impartial observers, such as Professor C. P. Fitzgerald, of Canberra (e.g., "Flood Tide in China," pp. 52-53) are agreed that violence played a remarkably small part in the Chinese revolution, in relation to the character of that revolution and of the regime which it overthrew. Certainly the number of deaths was many times smaller than the number of those who lost their lives in the communal strife in India at the time of partition.
2. Collectivisation has not been "enforced" in China, and has not come "precipitately," but has grown out of the compelling economic and social needs of the Chinese peasants. I visited several People's Communes in September; they were in different parts of China and were far from uniform, but one of their common characteristics was that they were running their own affairs and raising their standards of living by their own efforts.
3. I do not know to what "purges" Bruce Odspur is referring, but there have certainly been none of the kind he suggests; the pardon and release of over 12,000 war criminals, counter-revolutionaries, and ordinary criminals has been announced in Peking within the last week; in addition, the "rightist" label has been removed from over 900 people to whom it was attached two years ago.
4. To talk, presumably in connection with the Sino-Indian border dispute, of Chinese "ruthless expansionism" is such a wild distortion of the situation that it would be ludicrous if it were not so serious. A study of the Indian Government White Papers on the subject shows that:
   (a) The India-China border has never been demarcated, and there is no agreement between the two countries even on its general lines.
   (b) Mr. Nehru has been pressing Mr. Chou En-lai to accept the line claimed by India (though, as Dr. Han Suyin, writing from Malaya, has pointed out in The Times, the map in the 1951 edition of Mr. Nehru's own book, "The Discovery of India," follows the line claimed by China!) When a British former Acting Governor of Assam can write that ". . . The Government of India, both British and Indian, has laid stress on what is called the McMahon Line, and has pursued an active policy of exploration and penetration into the vast hinterland lying between the Brahmaputra valley and the Himalayas . . . But the McMahon Line, which sought to secure the main crest of the Himalayas as our frontier, does not exist and never has existed," it is hardly surprising that the Chinese Government finds difficulty in agreeing to India's claim.
   (c) In these circumstances, there have been clashes, leading to casualties, and each side accuses the other of having occupied territory on its side of the line.
5. It is by no means clear that "the Delhi Government has shown a restraint unprecedented in a Great Power." On the contrary, many Indians are extremely disturbed at the way in which Mr. Nehru has been pushed by the pressure of right-wing forces in India into making provocative statements which have no counterpart on the Chinese side.

China is not a pacifist country (any more than is India or any other country in the world at the present time, so far as I know), but that is no reason for us to swallow the anti-Chinese propaganda which is still being pumped out through so many channels in the world, and I hope you will publish this letter to put the record straight.

A journal with the reputation for honesty of Peace News should be at particular pains to give China, both in this and other matters, the fair hearing which is denied her by most of the Press, and I am glad to see Roy Sherwood's remark in your issue of December 11 that "the Chinese case in the border dispute is much stronger than generally known in the West." The way in which one-fifth of the world's population are building a new social and economic order for themselves should be of direct interest to *everyone* who is working for peace, and I would suggest that you devote some of your space to reporting on this from time to time.

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DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

PEOPLE AND PLACES

OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS

WHAT happens at these missile bases, some of which are now ready in Britain to remove millions of people from the face of the earth?

Those people who believe that present military policies are fantastically stupid have very strong evidence to back their case.

Imagine the situation. The joint order comes down from Washington and Downing Street. Two officers—one British and one American—sit at the firing site, with two identical firing keys in front of them. Only when both have turned their keys can the automatic firing sequence begin.

What are the two men thinking as they contemplate their keys? If they are thinking seriously about their life's work they will have great difficulty in retaining their sanity.

If you doubt this, consider what has happened to the minds of men who have wielded great power. In the final issue of the Universities and Left Review there was a valuable reminder from Peter Sedgwick of the fate of founding fathers of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

James Forrestal, the then US Secretary of Defence, became obsessed with the idea that the Russians were invading the USA. When a fire siren blew, he ran out of the house in his pyjamas, screaming about the Red Army. Later that year (1949) he jumped out of the window of the naval hospital where he was confined during his "occupational overstrain" and finished up with a state funeral.

As for Stalin, "he had completely lost consciousness of reality," Mr. K. announced in 1956.

So who says there is no danger of a berserk missile-man?

Prayers and lessons

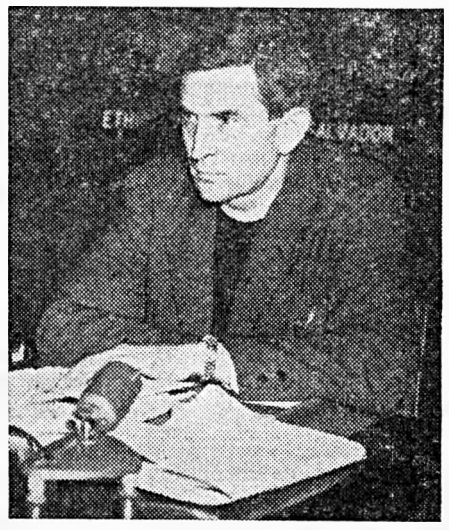
I LIKED parts of a cable that arrived in London recently from the anti-bomb team out in Africa.

It was sent off after a meeting they had held at the border town of Bawku before first confronting French territory. Michael Randle's cable managed to get across the spirit of the whole protest:

"Ntsu Mokhehle, of the Basutoland Congress Party, said in a speech: 'We go unarmed. We say to the French "Do not weep for us but for yourselves and your children." Even if we are stopped we do not fail, for we do not rely on physical might.'

"Madame Esther Peter: 'I am here to tell you that many people in France oppose Bomb tests. I appeal particularly to the women of Ghana to oppose this test.'

"Percy Marshall, of Accra: 'We need your prayers and moral support so that whatever happens to us the heart of General de Gaulle may be touched and this test prevented.'



Michael Scott at the United Nations before flying to Accra.

"The Rev. Michael Scott: 'God has sent us many great men—Mohammed, Jesus Christ and others—who have shown us the power of love. The spirit of love and non-violence inspires this protest.'

"The Chief replied: 'We know this is a hazardous journey. You have the prayers and support of my Chiefs and my people.'

"The meeting ended with hymn singing and this prayer by the Rev. A. J. Muste:

"'O God of all mankind, we thank You for this meeting and for the bond of love that now binds us together. Be with the Sahara protest team and protect them. Should suffering befall them, may it help to redeem mankind.'

It is when this sort of spirit confronts naked power that we enter the most exciting realm in modern politics. I hope the protest team are learning a lot.

Conspicuous service

ONE of the most insulting things that Prime Minister Macmillan has done while in office went almost unnoticed.

Just after the General Election Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, resigned his post "for family reasons." He made it clear in a letter to the Prime Minister that this meant "the family business."

Back came a letter from his leader to the man who had just failed to resign from office despite the Hola atrocities in Kenya and the mass detainment policy in Nyasaland.

Mr. Macmillan's letter was an insult to every African under British rule:

"...It was only your strong sense of patriotism which held you in office... You have now been Secretary of State for the Colonies for some five years. During this time you have served the peoples of the colonial territories with conspicuous loyalty, devotion and understanding. I know how many ties of friendship you have formed and how deeply your inspiring leadership will be missed..."

And now Mr. Lennox-Boyd, still in the House of Commons, has been appointed joint managing director of Arthur Guinness Son and Co., the brewers. Will Dr. Banda drink his health, I wonder?

Not-so-free world

A READER in Chelsea has innocently turned up the report on the Khrushchev visit to America which appeared in PN on October 9.

In this article Jim Peck recalled Mr. K's meeting with US labour leaders:

"The basic exchange was spark-plugged by the question of Joseph Curran, head of the National Maritime Union: 'Specifically, will workers (in Russia) be permitted to secure redress of their grievances by the only test of industrial democracy, the right to strike, the right collectively to withhold their labour power?'"

Our reader then artfully produced Philip Deane's report in The Observer on November 8 on the US steel strike:

"The United States Supreme Court today rejected an appeal by the striking steel workers, upheld a lower court's decision, and sent the strikers back to work for an 80-day period of 'cooling off and negotiations,' as the Taft-Hartley Act prescribes....

"Rather than allow another strike, Congress is expected to pass new legislation which will give the President greater powers to prevent work stoppages in nationally-essential industries. Compulsory arbitration is one method that has been discussed, but industrialists oppose this because it has generally worked against them when used in the past..."

I wonder if our innocent reader forgot to sign his letter because he is hoping for a US visa? Wicked thought.

Christmas message

THE Coast-to-Coast youth march across Lancashire and Yorkshire sets out tomorrow (Saturday), whatever the weather.

The organisers are encouraging as many people as possible to join them, even if only for a short distance, on this Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament event, so here's the full programme, parties included:

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26

LIVERPOOL: Marchers assemble on St. George's Plateau at 11.15 a.m.; depart from the assembly point at 12 noon.
ST. HELENS. Arrive 4.30-5.00 p.m.; open-air meeting, 5.00-5.30 p.m.; indoor meeting, 8.00 p.m.; depart between 9.30 and 9.45 a.m.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27

WIGAN: Arrive 1.00-2.00 p.m.; open-air meeting, 2.00-3.00 p.m.; leave at 3.00 p.m.
BOLTON: Arrive at 6.00 p.m.; Carol Service, 7.30-8.30 p.m.; depart, 9.30 a.m.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28

BURY: Arrive 11.30 a.m.-12 noon; open-air meeting 12.30 p.m.; depart, 1.45-2.00 p.m.
ROCHDALE: Arrive 4.00-4.30 p.m.; march and torchlight procession; reach accommodation point at 7.00 p.m.; depart at 9.30 a.m.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29

HALIFAX: Arrive 4.30-5.00 p.m.; open-air meeting; leave, 9.30 a.m.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30

BRADFORD: Arrive 12 noon at Odsall Top; march and meeting complete at 1.00-1.15 p.m.; leave 1.15-1.30 p.m.
LEEDS: Arrive Old Branby Tramsheds 5.00 p.m.; Torchlight procession; meal at Friends Meeting House 7.30 p.m.; Party at 8.00 p.m.; depart at 9.00 a.m.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31

CASTLEFORD: Arrive 12.00-12.30 p.m.; open-air meeting ? ?; depart 2.00-2.15 p.m. at latest.
PONTEFRACT: Arrive 4.00 p.m. Reach accommodation point at 5.00 p.m.; meal; depart at 9.00 a.m.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 1

GOOLE: Arrive 4.30-5.00 p.m. indoor meeting 7.00 p.m.; depart, 8.30 a.m.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2

HESSLE: Arrive 5.00 p.m. Transport into Hull; party in evening; return to Hessle on Sunday for torchlight procession into Hull starting at 4.15 p.m.; short open-air meeting which will enable those who want to get away to depart.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 3

HULL: Official reception in Hull by Sheriff's Lady;
FURTHER DETAILS: Eric Green, 31, Lamb Hill Close, Richmond, Sheffield, Tel.: 396634; or Peter Ritman, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

A London contingent will join the march at Bolton. The London Youth CND marchers plan to meet at the Main Arrival board, Euston station, at 10.0 p.m. on Sunday, December 27.

All baggage will be driven on the march, and Eric Green of Sheffield even goes so far as to state that plans have been made for almost any emergency. Still time to join in, you know...

—Phyz

1250—1107—143



THE last appeal which I will be able to make for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund this year sees us in sight of our aim. This is due to generous donations of £100, £25 and £10, together with smaller but not less welcome amounts. I can only again express my confidence that having got so near, we will not now fail to reach our aim for 1959. I am writing to some of my friends to help us to achieve this result, and I am asking you and your friends to lend a hand.

Very often the real meaning of Christmas is lost in the round of gaieties and the opening of parcels. I hope you will each and all have a very happy Christmas and get just the presents you would have chosen for yourselves. But the meaning of Christmas is Peace and Goodwill, and that is the message of the PPU. Only as we help to spread that challenge will we be acting in the spirit of the festival. Only in that way can we ensure a happy Christmas and help towards a peaceful New year, which is what I wish you all.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

So far we have received £1,107 out of the £1,250 which is our aim for 1959.

How much will *you* send of the £143 we still require?

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

By Sybil Morrison

THE WILL TO GOOD

... on earth peace, good will toward men.
—St. Luke II, 14

DRIVEN by fear of the ultimate catastrophe of total annihilation, leading statesmen of the world have tended in recent years to refrain from taking up a position from which no strategic withdrawal could be made. Disarmament by agreement and, of course, with complete face-saving clauses, is clearly the desire of all parties, though it is doubtful if any Western nation envisages the possibility, or accepts the desirability, of total disarmament.

Imagination probably falters before the prospect of re-deploying labour for the purpose of collecting all swords and then beating them into ploughshares. In fact, after so many centuries, that would be a craft so new it would have to be learned from the very beginning.

The talks between the Western leaders, the subsequent talks between West and East at top level, the United Nations disarmament commission will all be concerned, no doubt, to lessen the tension of the "Cold War", so that the possibility of a major war may recede at least for a time.

At this time of the year, there is always much talk of peace, and many sentimental comments among ordinary people, to the effect that Christmas is a natural time for everyone to have a sense of good will towards others. Those two words: "Peace" and "Goodwill" are invariably placed in that order, rather naturally, since this is how they are placed in St. Luke's description of the revelation to the shephers at Bethlehem; it ought, in fact to be the other way round, since if there were good will among nations there would inevitably be peace.

★

Good will, in this respect does not necessarily have the same meaning as liking, or loving an individual. To have a will toward good rather than toward evil; to have a will toward peace rather than toward war could be perfectly possible between nations whose people might find it impossible to like each other, let alone love each other. Tolerance towards a nation whose ideology was completely averse to that held by another nation would be possible, however, only if the ideology did not conflict with held principles.

There can never be any reason to tolerate the intolerable in the name of good will; in this century there have been violations of basic human rights which could not be tolerated by humane persons; nevertheless the evil that gave rise to them could not be defeated ultimately by a will to evil, but only by a will to good.

In Britain at the present time there are people imprisoned, not for crimes, but for conscientious objection; there is a callous continuation of capital punishment; in the so-called British Protectorates there are still people retained in prison without trial, and there is the persistent preparation of materials for a nuclear war.

War of any kind has always been a violation of human rights; good will between those engaged in fighting a war is not permitted, and clearly so long as there is any danger that it might be necessary to fight a war, good will between the nations likely to be committed to such a war is rigidly kept out. Lip service only is paid to the idea.

If any leading statesman today has a real intention to find the way towards a peaceful world through disarmament there must be the will to find an agreement, and that will toward a good end must somehow be in the forefront of the proposals.

This is the absolute essential for any successful outcome of negotiations between the nations. Clearly there can be no good end from agreements based upon the fear of total destruction; the will to good, the repudiation of the evil methods must come first; it is certain that peace will follow after.

Aiding refugees

CHRISTMAS is more than anything else associated with the message "Peace on Earth," and it is therefore more fitting for Peace News than for any other paper to wish its readers "a happy Christmas in the right spirit."

Our thoughts at Christmastime concentrate obviously on Bethlehem where today we meet a problem which disturbs peace on earth, namely, that of the refugees. This is World Refugee Year, in which great humanitarian efforts are being made in order to help and resettle refugees in different parts of the world. But the refugees in Bethlehem—most of whom are Christian Arabs who left their homes on the other side of the border—remind us that the problem is not only one which can be settled by a humanitarian relief action. It is also a political problem the solution of which must lie on a political level. Every refugee problem in the world has its origin in political disputes, and can only be solved by good will between nations.

It is therefore encouraging that King Hussein of Jordan, during his recent visit to London, mentioned the possibility of a solution to the problem through the co-existance of Israel and its Arab neighbours. King Hussein was the first Arab ruler to hint at any such possibility. Previously we had heard only the demand for the annihilation of the State of Israel as a "solution."

Icelandic dispute

WE have also seen encouraging signs of the possibility of the solution to another dispute between nations. Last week I met an Icelandic trade union delegation which was received in Britain by the Minister of Labour. They declared that the fishing dispute must not be allowed to poison the friendship between the British and Icelandic nations.

We have also been told that Iceland is prepared to give the British fishermen a concession on the humanitarian level, namely, to allow them to seek shelter during storms. Another encouraging piece of news was that during the whole period of the fishing dispute Britain has bought large amounts of frozen fish from Iceland—without any discussion about import duties which have been causing difficulties with other countries.

We may express the hope that the larger disputes between the Great Powers can be settled in the same amicable way as now seems possible in these minor disputes.

Phone tapping

IT is difficult for a foreigner to understand why the British regard telephone tapping as an interference with civil liberties. I know Members of Parliaments of other countries who would be offended

COMMENTARY
By
Bjoern Hallstroem

if their telephones were not tapped (as this would show that the police and the Party in power did not think them important enough). If your conscience is clear, they argue, then you have no objection to anyone listening-in—especially as any record of the conversation could be used by your defence counsel to prove your innocence, should you be involved in a trial.

The main consideration is, of course, what use the police make of the information collected through the tapping of telephones. But this applies to any evidence which the police collect. It seem to me that much more important safeguards for individual rights should have priority.

There is, for instance, no authority in Britain to whom you can appeal if you consider that the police have overstepped their powers. The only method of redress is to kick up a big row, as in the case of the Thurso boy, so that a Parliamentary commission is appointed for investigation. This costs thousands of pounds. A much cheaper way would be a permanent supervisor, appointed by Parliament, for investigations, as is the case in the Scandinavian countries. The result, protection of the rights of the individual, is the same with either method—but I cannot help commenting that the British method is more expensive.

NATO's principles

NATO suffers its worst crisis since its inception, coinciding with the first meeting in its new building in Paris. Many believe that the crisis may destroy this whole military alliance, as modern military methods involve a higher degree of political integration than the member states would like.

We can, as pacifists, naturally not mourn the death of a military alliance. (Anyhow, the new NATO building may always come in useful, especially in Paris where very little construction has been done for the last 50 years.)

Henri Spaak and Philip Noel-Baker suggested recently other non-military tasks for NATO. Other politicians have objected on the grounds that NATO was founded for a military purpose and there would be duplication with other international institutions.

I was present at a meeting in London at which some NATO parliamentarians defended the purely military rôle of NATO. One of those present suggested that NATO should devote itself to "psychological warfare," i.e., fighting the battle on the ideological level. George Brown, MP, objected. "NATO is such a heterogeneous body that this would be impossible," he said. It includes such different countries as Britain and Portugal. "The task would be still more difficult if Spain came in. The lesser about it the better."

We had another reminder of the heterogeneous nature of the Western Alliance when Eisenhower visited Pakistan and Spain, which are both under dictatorship but are supposed to be allies in the struggle for democracy.

He also visited Turkey which has a democratic constitution but whose Government has recently acted in a rather dictatorial manner against the opposition. Only a few days after Eisenhower's visit to Ankara came the message that the aged editor of the opposition paper "Vatan," Mr. Ahmed Yalman, had been sentenced to prison for reproducing an article critical of Turkey from the "Indianapolis Star." This is only one incident among many in the suppression of the opposition press in Turkey.

Looking at incidents which have recently happened in Turkey and Spain, one has reason to ask what NATO and the Bagdad Pact are supposed to defend. Principles and military expediency seldom mix.

Christmas in jail

OUR thoughts this Christmas will be with our six friends who are in prison because they refused to promise not to take part in a non-violent demonstration. Be it far from me to criticise any decision of a British court or to comment on the embarrassment in some circles over imprisoning these six people. Newspapers are allowed in British prisons, and in case Peace News is also permitted, I want to tell the friends a little story:

About 100 years ago, the last death sentence for *lèse-majesté* was pronounced in Sweden. The sentenced man was Major Carlberg, an army officer. The King immediately gave him a royal pardon, which Major Carlberg refused to accept. He insisted on a new trial which was to prove his innocence.

(A radical bookseller and author, who happened to be a personal friend of Karl Marx, tried to persuade Major Carlberg to become a martyr. He visited him in prison and said: "Let them take off your head, Major, it will do a lot of good." Major Carlberg, however, did not want to be a martyr. He only wanted a new trial.)

The Government was very embarrassed and gave the order for the forcible expulsion of the Major from the prison. The staff had a great problem, as the Major refused to leave and could not be kicked out, because of his rank. The prison staff finally arranged that he stumble near the open gate during his daily exercise. He fell through the gate, which was immediately locked from the inside. The Major banged on the gate, demanding re-admission—but this was refused, and thus closed the whole incident.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Indian capacity

INDIA has the capacity to make atomic bombs and weapons, the country's atomic energy chief, Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, announced on December 15.

The next day the Indian Government issued a "clarifying" statement, Reuter reported from New Delhi. The statement said:

"Our atomic energy work has reached the stage when we could, without any external assistance, produce atomic weapons if we so wished. It is, however, contrary to our policy to do so."

Nyasaland prisoners

THE British Government's stock statement about detainees in Nyasaland was again made by the Colonial Secretary on December 15. It said:

"The release of detainees is a matter for the Governor of Nyasaland, and no one is detained any longer than is essential for the maintenance of public order in the territory.

"The question of bringing detainees to trial is a matter for the Attorney-General of Nyasaland."

The French bomb

FRANCE'S first "nuclear device" was ready in November and a second will be completed early in March.

Shortly afterwards the first French nuclear explosions are planned to take place, Paul Johnson reported from Paris in the London Evening Standard on December 18.

The creation of a force of Mirage IV A-bombers by 1963 will cost about £400,000,000, he added

German weapons

THE West German Defence Ministry announced on December 16 the list of missiles and rockets to be introduced into the country.

They are: Nike-Ajax, Nike-Hercules, Hawk, Sidewinder (anti-aircraft); Honest John, Matador, Mace (ground-to-ground); S.10, S.11, Cobra (anti-tank).

Nike-Hercules, Honest John, Matador and Mace are capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Mace, reported to have a range of 950 miles, is "the weapon likely to arouse concern in some quarters abroad," The Times' Bonn correspondent reported.

Young H-bombers

IN Britain a man "cannot normally become first pilot of a V-bomber before he is 22½."

The Secretary of State for Air gave this information to Emyrs Hughes, MP, in a written answer to a Parliamentary question on December 16.

Men may become members of a V-bomber crew at about 19½, he added.

★

The directive issued on December 15 at Forbes air base in Kansas about keeping a watch on the private and public lives of enlisted men was rescinded the following day by the commanding officer responsible for it, Brigadier-General Ariel Nielsen. The directive had aroused much adverse publicity, The Times' New York correspondent reported.

The Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, said on December 18 that the question of the release of Dr. Banda would come up when he was not going to be a danger to law and order. Sir Robert added that he did not know when that would be, Reuter reported.

The nuclear submarine Robert E. Lee, the fourth designed to fire Polaris H-bomb missiles, was launched at Newport News, Virginia, on December 18, The Times reported.

Over £1,000,000 has been collected during the first half of World Refugee Year in Britain, it was announced on December 15. The original target was £2,000,000.

The Secretary of State for War announced on December 17 that the guided missiles establishment in the Western Isles "is nearly complete."

The intensive boycott of South African goods for a month early in 1960 is now supported by the British Labour and Liberal Parties.

Prime Minister Macmillan leaves Britain on the first stage of his African tour on January 5.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting will start in London on May 3, Mr. Macmillan announced on December 15.

General Franco, Dictator of Spain, celebrated his sixty-seventh birthday on December 4.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Refugee Aid

THE Dutch pacifist organisation ANVA, in a special issue on Algeria in its monthly publication Vredesactie, last autumn started an action for aid to the Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia. Over the months about fls 9,000 (£845) and about 9,000 kilograms (nearly nine tons) of clothes have been collected and sent to Tunis.

In the autumn of 1959 the VPRO, the free Protestant radio association, started a programme for direct help to the 50,000 Algerian children dying along the Moroccan-Algerian frontier. Within a month fls 1,250,000 (nearly £117,000) have been collected and sent to the Moroccan Red Crescent for this aid.

This action has got response from all parts of Holland. Even the royal family has contributed and officially had this gift mentioned in the press.

This means that about 14,000 of the 50,000 children perishing in Morocco will have clothes and blankets before winter comes. The most isolated and distressed camps have been helped first.

Let everyone follow this example! There are still tens of thousands of lives to save. Each life saved now could be a friend in the future; each life lost will be an invitation to hatred.—**HEIN VAN WIJK, Haarlem, Netherlands.**

More potent threat

THE London Evening Standard on Monday stated: "A switch could be pressed in Norfolk and a few minutes later Moscow would cease to exist. It is claimed in Whitehall that the British nuclear striking force alone could inflict tens of millions of casualties on the Soviet Union in a few minutes."

Please stress in future issues of PN that lunacy in high places is a more potent threat than the absence of the correct moral approach.—**BILL CUMING, London, W.C.1.**

'Strategy for Survival'

I AM not in the habit of writing to Peace News, although I read it regularly. From it I obtain many illuminating accounts and reports, and of course the reviews of certain books helps one to choose what material to read. This does not mean that the criticism of any particular book renders it "unreadable."

There is a report in Peace News, November 27, on the book by Wayland Young which rather confounds me. I feel that your contributor April Carter may well be right when she says "Thus he proposes a solution which contradicts many of his earlier arguments." Whether she is referring to Wayland Young's arguments within the book, 'Strategy for Survival,' or whether the reference is to other material the author has been responsible for is not clear. However, according to April Carter's review of this book, he (Wayland Young) writes in a manner that suggests—"unilateral action might plunge the world into war by sheer confusion." Yet, in the magazine "Encounter," November, 1958, Wayland Young wrote under the heading "An Abolitionist's Position," I quote:

> "To say then that unconditional nuclear disarmament has become necessary for mankind is to say that *each constituent part of mankind* must lay down its nuclear arms.
>
> "But it may be objected, if one part does, and the other does not, then mankind as a whole will not have laid down its nuclear arms, which was the end in view. This is so. But on the other hand nobody can tell whether unconditional nuclear disarmament by one part of mankind would induce the other part to follow suit; the fact that we—the West—have not followed up the initiative of them—the East—in suspending tests suggests that it probably would not. But it possibly might, and if a course of action offers a possibility, however small, of escaping from an intolerable risk, and if that possibility is the only one, then the course of action must be taken.
>
> "Our only hope of escape from the risk of general extermination is for each nation, severally, alone, and at once, to lay down its nuclear arms."

Those of us who look to the "thinkers" to help us with our own thinking are bound to find confusion when a writer can write in an article such as I have quoted, this summary: "To sum up: the extermination of mankind is to be avoided at all costs. Nuclear weapons threaten to exterminate mankind. Conditional disarmament seems unobtainable. Nations must disarm unconditionally," and a year later publish a book which, according to your review, is as two-sided as the examples which I have shown.—**H. DAVIES, 533 College Road, Erdington, Birmingham 23.**

Gandhi's letters

A COMMITTEE has been formed in London under the chairmanship of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, in order to help in the collection of Mahatma Gandhi's letters, speeches and writings, the publication of which is at present being undertaken by the Government of India.

I would like to appeal to your readers who may have in their possession letters or other communications written by Mahatma Gandhi to lend them to us for photographing or copying. I should also be grateful for any information which might lead to the possible discovery of such material.

Communications may be sent to me at: 105 Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2. I need hardly add that the greatest possible care will be taken of all material lent to us and that it will be returned as quickly as possible.—**IAN LE MAISTRE, Secretary, London Committee for the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, 105, Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2.**

Quote

Large-scale overseas bases are now useless hangovers from the pre-nuclear age, and seem to have as their chief function the creation of political problems.—Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, in the King-Hall News-Letter, August 26, 1959.

The moment I became a Satyagrahi, from that moment, I ceased to be a subject, but never ceased to be a citizen. A citizen obeys laws voluntarily and never under compulsion or for fear of the punishment prescribed for their breach. He breaks them when he considers it necessary and welcomes the punishment. That robs it of its edge or of the disgrace which it is supposed to imply.—M. K. Gandhi.

ON THE FRONTIER



By Tom Wardle

I HAVE just emerged from a bout of debilitating sickness which has left me more calmly disposed to life. Through the grace of the unfriendly bacteria that sought fit to assault me, my whole organism is disinclined to hurry, noise and anxiety at this time.

I am thus able to observe more detachedly what a frantic festival Christmas has become. Doubtless it is stimulated by the myriad commercial interests which begin to profit from it by about August each year; but the pace is obviously quickened by a sort of desperate compulsion to make the most out of it. Bigger trees, fancier presents, gaudier decorations, more sumptuous meals—these are the means it seems to a more fulfilling Christmas.

The frantic festival

Are they? Preparation and anticipation are clearly exciting elements in any celebration, but they tend now to dominate and eclipse the celebration itself in the contemporary Christmas. Many people are exhausted when Christmas Day comes; or at best have no idea what to do with it. The ever-present television is however at hand to relieve some of the boredom.

Over the centuries Christmas has changed from a fast to a feast. Those who plan their Christmas to allow for an early slackening of the pace well before the Day itself, will find it easier to remember that it is a festival of peace and renewal, and to know that replenishment of spirit which belongs to it.

* * *

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN is at last getting a little of the recognition that he deserves, in the Western world. During his recent visit to this country he again aroused speculation as to the possibility of his becoming Prime Minister of India when Nehru retires. It seems very doubtful; Narayan is too obviously wedded to Bhoodan and the Gandhi-Bhave way of life to be happy in a top political role.

He is reported to be dissatisfied with Western-style democracy in India and seeking to revive the Gandhian ideal of largely self-governing areas and localities. In this way he feels, as Gandhi felt, that the evils of centralised government could be avoided. The concentration of power has long appeared to me to be one of the principal sources of public ennui and a prime threat to the peace of the world. I share a great many of Narayan's assumptions. But there is an important question involved. What percentage of the population actually desires autonomous responsibility?

Village republics

To those people who value freedom of decision more than abundance of goods, services and entertainment, the decentralised society is the desirable one. Yet to many, such freedom would be a burden. They are fully prepared to surrender their measure of participation for the rewards of the centralised economy.

In India today the centralised economy has borne little fruit. It brings so far certain disadvantages, but when it is working properly (as far as any economy can work properly), what will the attitude of the Indian peasant then be?

There is a decided truth in the argument that the move from a local, relatively autonomous pattern of government to a centralised one means the exchange of one poorly-exercised political freedom to a more widely-exercised consumer's freedom (freedom to "live it up").

If the freedom that goes with responsibility is a different and a superior kind of freedom than the freedom that goes with choice, then this raises two more questions: (1) why? (2) how are the masses to be persuaded to see this?

* * *

MR. KINGSLEY AMIS ("Lucky Jim") seems to be burgeoning into this country's interpreter of science fiction. I find his reviews good. For a long time something has been going on in the field of science fiction, but it has so far, in Britain at least, received scant attention.

This may be due to the fact that included under the general head of science fiction is a lot of pulp rubbish, though the cover of a magazine, like "Galaxy" say, is no indication of the quality of its contents.

Science fiction

It was in a pulp monthly that I first read Eric Russell's "And then there were none" about the *Gands*, followers of Gandhi who leave the earth to establish a non-violent society on another planet and meet an imperial earth invasion with passive resistance. Not a model of literature, but full of interesting ideas on non-violence.

From the literary standpoint Ray Bradbury, Arthur C. Clarke, James Blish are amongst the crop of fine writers that the medium has produced.

Very many science fiction stories deal essentially with the meaning and status of man. They have moved a long way from the early concern with space-ships and scientific marvels. The world of technological extrapolation is today largely a background for the examination of the problems of human destiny and significance.

Some of the most important issues, not only in sociology and psychology but in religion too are raised and grappled with. Amis says, "it is a form of writing which is ready to tackle those large, general, speculative questions which ordinary fiction so often avoids."

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The Russian disarmament proposals—II

By J. ALLEN SKINNER

AN important aspect of the Russian Disarmament proposals presented by Mr. Khrushchev to the UN General Assembly is that the destruction of the stocks of H-bombs and other means of mass annihilation comes in the third stage. This is a reversal of the approach made in the "Ban the Bomb" propaganda.

It is at this stage that the proposals contemplate that there shall be complete freedom of investigation by the international control body. It is only at this stage that the barriers raised in the discussions on partial disarmament can be removed and, Mr. Khrushchev claims, "clear the way for comprehensive, complete control."

What has apparently been implied in the earlier "ban the bomb" propaganda then has been that there shall be a general abandonment of the H-bomb, but that the nations, having subscribed to the proposal, should each be trusted to carry it out without inspection.

This idea of mutual trust is now dropped and in its place there is the exceedingly cautious suggestion that there shall be three developing phases of inspection. In the two earlier phases the functions and powers of the international control body are to "correspond to the nature of the disarmament measures that are to be carried out," or, as the passage dealing with this in the concluding section of the proposals has it, "The scope and control of inspection shall correspond to the extent of the phased disarmament of the States."

CONTROLS

We get no more indication than this as to the precise character of the controls to be operated, but Mr. Khrushchev has made it very clear that the Russian Government will take a very conservative view as to their extent. In his speech to the UN General Assembly Mr. Khrushchev said:

> "The opponents of disarmament can easily make any measure conditional upon such control provisions as other states will, in the conditions of a universal arms race, be unable to accept. Indeed, the countries which, for whatever reason, advance such far-reaching control demands would themselves most probably not be inclined to accept these demands if it came to carrying them out."

Mr. Khrushchev is possibly quite right in thinking that the US, for instance, would have retreated from its own proposals for inspection and control if there had seemed to be any possibility of the Russian Government accepting them, but it has always been obvious that the tight control that the Russian authorities keep over movement in their territory and on the right of publication, gives them an advantage in secrecy about its military preparations over the governments of the West, and it is this advantage that Mr. Khrushchev is making it clear that he is not willing to surrender before complete disarmament is attained.

NEGOTIATIONS

The fact that the new Russian proposals are so wholesale in character, and are associated with the suggestion that they shall be achieved in four years should not blind us to the fact that their acceptance as they stand as a basis for negotiation would leave all the most difficult points to be grappled with; and our experience so far, both before and since the war, gives us no reason to suppose that we shall get rid of armaments by way of such negotiation.

The overriding difficulty with negotiations for disarmament is that they become an essentially military matter. It is the military mind that has to be brought to bear in scrutinising the relative consequences for the different sides of the various measures proposed. There is an inevitable struggle to gain, maintain, or improve a military advantage as a result of any agreement that may be reached. Any concession on one side must be used as a means of extorting an at least equivalent concession from the other. It is this that explains the fact that what the nations have to show for the scores of years spent in seeking reductions by negotiation is an all-round expenditure greater than anything that has obtained in the past.

Britain's opportunity

This fact has special significance for those who advocate disarmament. Let them begin to advocate the acceptance of negotiations on the basis proposed and their advocacy during the progress of negotiations becomes out of place. They have willed that their Government shall negotiate, that is to say utilise the measure of armed strength that it holds as bargaining material to bring about a general abandonment of arms. Having accepted that this road shall be followed, any attempt they may make to bring pressure for measures of disarmament that are not dependent upon the success of the negotiations becomes a weakening of the effort towards disarmament upon the basis of the assumptions that they have endorsed.

What I have said above is not a suggestion that the putting forward of the proposals by Mr. Khrushchev is valueless. On the contrary, they could provide a wonderful opportunity. Mr. Khrushchev has emphasised that what is lacking in the world is mutual trust, and he has urged that in the conditions of today the very existence of the peoples depends on the achievement of conditions in which trust may become possible. It is for that reason that he proposes that there shall be total disarmament. Unfortunately his proposals mean the following of a road along which suspicion and counter-suspicion will prevail. We shall never reach a situation in which mutual trust obtains unless some serious and impressive step is first taken towards trusting.

A policy for Britain today that would represent a facing of realities would be a whole-hearted acceptance of the Russian proposals, followed by the announcement that so far as our nation is concerned we shall dispense with negotiations and will immediately enter upon the course of action proposed. A British policy of this kind, however, need not, of course, be geared to a four-year plan for negotiations. There would be no need to apply phased limitations to the degree of inspection. The completely free facilities envisaged for the completion of the plan could operate from the start.

There would necessarily be some kind of time-scheme for the application of the proposals and it might very well run to the four years proposed by Mr. Khrushchev. It would be related, however, not to a cautious phasing to ensure that one power did not disarm more thoroughly than another, but to the time it would take to direct the labour and resources that would be released into useful channels, and in particular for arrangements to be made for their utilisation in the construction of a completely different kind of foreign policy.

It is substantially a four-year plan for disarmament that has been suggested in a policy that has been endorsed by the Standing Joint Committee of pacifist organisations. This urges that such a plan should be carried through in the life-time of a single Parliament, and that the labour and resources so released should be largely used in the pursuance of a new type of foreign policy based on seeking co-operation among nations in assisting the peoples of the under-developed countries out of their poverty.

The hopeful way to meet the Russian proposals therefore is to welcome them wholeheartedly; to begin to act upon them for ourselves independently of negotiation; and to seek negotiations with Russia on the basis of various proposals its Government has made from time to time for co-operation in assisting the peoples of the under-developed countries. As these proposals would no longer for us be associated with military stipulations there could be much more hope that they would bear fruit.

(Concluded)

AN ACT OF COURAGE

"It may be that just as India had to take the lead and show the world that national independence could be achieved non-violently, so India may have to take the lead and call for universal disarmament, and if no other nation will join her immediately India should declare itself for disarmament UNILATERALLY.

"Such an act of courage would be a great demonstration of the spirit of the Mahatma and would be the greatest stimulus to the rest of the world to do likewise.

"Moreover, any nation that would take such a brave step would automatically so draw to itself the support of the multitudes of the earth that any would-be aggressor would be discouraged from risking the wrath of mankind."

—Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King at a press conference in Delhi, March 9, 1959.

BANG, BANG! YOU'RE DEAD

By Geoffrey Carnall

ONE of this year's Endsleigh Cards has as its seasonable Great Thought a couplet written by the seventeenth century poet Andrew Marvell:

The world in all doth but two nations bear,
The good, the bad, and these mixed everywhere.

Most people will nod their heads in lethargic agreement with sentiments of this kind, especially at Christmas. They will even agree with Marvell in deploring the "female spite" with which nations, ever since the Tower of Babel,

First call each other names, and then they fight . . .
Rational men's words pledges are of peace;
Perverted, serve dissension to increase.

But there is nearly always a mental reservation in such agreement. After all, what *can* one do with these intransigent Russians, Chinese, Americans, British, Bantu, Afrikaaners . . .? The list could be continued indefinitely. Marvell's poem was an attempt to shame the English out of their prejudice against the Scots. It is a pity there aren't more poems by later writers devoted to shaming us out of our prejudices against the French, the Germans, or the Russians. There is, perhaps, something incurably attractive about hostility of this kind. I think, indeed, it presents pacifism with its most intractable problem.

I often see children playing some war-like game or other. The details vary, but one sentiment is common to all: "Bang, bang! you're dead." Why is this cry so cheering to the spirit of youth? Because it feeds the seductive illusion that it isn't necessary to come to terms with our fellow-men, with their needs and wishes inconveniently at variance with ours, but that we can flatten them out of existence.

The attitudes of the playground persist. A common translation into adult language of "Bang, bang!" is "The only language they understand is force." I have heard this used by Indians, Pakistanis, Irish, British, Arabs, Israelis, Poles and Germans. If I had travelled more widely, I am confident I should have heard it on the lips of Chinese and Paraguayans, etc.

Here in Ireland we still keep up seventeenth-century feelings between Catholics and Protestants. In Belfast one can go to large and enthusiastic meetings where the Pope and all his agents (including Donald Soper) are denounced with a violence which recalls the more diverting pages of the Waverley Novels. Most of us know kindly ladies who want to thrash the wickedness out of criminals, or who long to have strikers compelled to work. "If I had *my* way, they wouldn't strike again in a hurry!" These examples may be discounted as extreme, or even eccentric.

Those who actually have to administer a state know that Catholics, criminals, and strikers cannot just be squashed, and this awareness is apt to spread widely enough to keep the bellicose within bounds. But this doesn't alter the innate attraction of "Bang, bang! you're dead."

You may persuade people to acquiesce in more sensible policies by the cogency of your arguments, by the cumulative force of your facts and figures. But somehow you will never wholly convince them. Conviction is only felt when you stamp on the monster's neck, or blow the enemy sky-high.

Pacifists aren't always blameless themselves in this, and I myself have a private list of monsters whom it gives me great pleasure to slaughter ritually from time to time. The enlightened poet Andrew Marvell, in his poem reconciling Scots and English, takes up a few lines to execute a war-dance on the bishops:

The friendly loadstone has not more combined
Than bishops cramped the commerce of mankind.

If one lives in Ireland, where reformers of all sorts need the wisdom of the serpent to circumvent the Catholic hierarchy, it isn't difficult to sympathise with Marvell. Even so, perhaps our New Year resolution should be to emulate serpentine wisdom rather than the exhilarating toughness of St. George in his dealings with the Dragon. This need in no way detract from the definiteness of our political campaigning, as non-violent direct action shows. But George is an incurably bellicose saint, and a treacherous ally for the pacifist.

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WHEN YOU GET TO SOUTH AFRICA ON YOUR TOUR FROM HOPE TO DESPAIR

Say no to race policy Macmillan



—says Fenner Brockway, MP

MY first reaction when I read of the constitutional changes in Tanganyika was to send a cable of congratulation to Julius Nyerere, the leader of the African National Union. Literally, they are almost entirely the result of his work.

I don't believe in the personality cult. I appreciate that the progress in Tanganyika is due to the devotion of thousands of Africans and to the constructive ability which they have shown not only politically but in economic achievements like their coffee co-operatives.

But when one has recognised all that, the fact remains that Nyerere's outstanding skill in guiding the Nationalist movement has been the determining factor in Tanganyika's African success.

Consider the change in simple terms. Tanganyika's population is composed of nearly 9,000,000 Africans, 75,000 Asians, 25,000 Europeans. At present the three races have equal representation in the Parliament. Next September a predominantly African electorate will choose 50 of the 71 elected members, the Asians 11, the Europeans 10. There will be an unchallengeable African majority, and Nyerere will become Chief Minister, with an African Government controlling everything except Foreign Affairs and Defence.

Of course there are criticisms to make, and severe criticisms, of the new constitution. There won't be adult suffrage. Only those who can read or write English or Swahili, or who have an income of £75 a year, or who have held administrative offices will be allowed to vote. The electorate is expected to number only 750,000.

Nevertheless, the acceptance of African-majority rule in what has been regarded as a multi-racial society, with considerable European and Asian populations, is a highly significant transformation. It cannot fail to have a great influence in the nearby territories of Uganda, Kenya, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, which will find it impossible to resist African majorities when Tanganyika has conceded it.

P.M. visits Africa

Next week the Prime Minister begins his visit to West Africa, Central Africa, South Africa. He will begin in countries racially equal and politically free (or nearly free), proceed to countries in a crisis of uncertainty between liberty and subjection, and conclude in a country where white domination and racial discrimination are acknowledged and notorious. He will see the whole African scene from hope to despair.

Mr. Macmillan will have the right to take some pride in what he sees in Ghana and Nigeria. The post-war Labour Government began the process of political advance, but a Tory Colonial Secretary completed it, and that thought will give the Premier satisfaction. The prestige of Ghana is high. Its dynamic development is evident to every visitor. Not only the changed face of Accra since independence, but the construction of the interior stretching to Togoland and the North, the mammoth harbour at Tema, the preparations for the Volta project. When the Prime Minister of Britain and the Prime Minister of Ghana meet they will do so as equals. Mr. Macmillan represents a tradition. Dr. Nkrumah represents the future pattern of a Continent.

In Nigeria Mr. Macmillan will meet the newly-elected Government which will inaugurate a change of profound significance both historically for Britain and pregnant with inspiration for Africa. Nigerian independence will be the greatest act of political liberation since India gained its freedom. Nigeria will write the word *finis* to the prospects of political imperialism in all Africa.

Mr. Macmillan will see the portent of West Africa, and the lesson cannot be lost on him as he passes on to the Rhodesias. Lagos and Accra are African cities. Bulawayo and Salisbury have the appearance of European cities, with the African masses thrust into the back streets, segregated, outside the pale of White civilisation. He will find African political movements suppressed, their leaders in prison. (Will he go to Gwelo Prison to see Dr. Banda, whom Judge Devlin and his fellow-Commissioners have found "not guilty"?) He will find the small minority of whites controlling everything, the Legislatures, the economy, the social pattern. He must know this cannot go on. The Rhodesias cannot continue to exist side by side with freed Nigeria and Ghana.

Then the British Prime Minister will descend to the Union of South Africa. The distinction between South Africa and other countries is not that it practises colour discrimination. Many countries do so, Southern Rhodesia hardly less than the Union. The distinction is that South Africa *boasts* of its colour bar, justifies a political and social philosophy which requires it. "Black is black and white is white and never the twain shall meet".

One would have more respect for this philosophy if the whites in South Africa applied it consistently, if they retired to the white areas on their map and asked all Africans to withdraw to the black areas. They don't do that. They demand that the Africans shall flock into the towns to do the hard manual labour in their mines, work which the whites regard as below their dignity. It is not so much a matter of racial purity as of racial superiority. The African is regarded as a third class human being.

Re-establish prestige

South Africa is becoming increasingly isolated. The United Nations have recently overwhelmingly denounced its apartheid policy. The visit of the British Prime Minister as the guest of the South African Government will re-establish its prestige and will give the impression that Britain endorses its racialist attitude towards Africans. This impression will be strengthened by the refusal of British Ministers, when challenged by the Labour Party in the House of Commons, to dissociate themselves from apartheid. When Mr. Macmillan visits South Africa he has a duty to make it clear that the great majority of British people have no sympathy with South Africa's racial discrimination and segregation.

Mr. Macmillan will have one opportunity to modify the effect of his fraternal visit to the Union Government. He has told us in Parliament that he will also visit the British Protectorates in South Africa. These enclaves are by no means perfect examples of racial equality and African freedom, but at least in Basutoland and Bechuanaland legislatures are now being established in which the elected Europeans and Africans will participate as equals. If the British Prime Minister expresses some welcome to this inter-racial development, he will by implication point the contrast with the Union, where no African, no Indian, no coloured person has the rights of citizenship or the vote.

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Because he refused to be conscripted and report to a camp for conscientious objectors, Laurids Larsen, a Danish teacher, was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment. He was sentenced on his return from Vienna where he had been helping at a Quaker relief centre for Hungarian refugees.

FOR STUDENT CAMPAIGNERS
Combined Universities CND. National Conference, Jan 2-3, Student Movement House, Gower St. Prof. Rotblat, Prof. Bernal. Details: 77d Southwark Bridge Rd, S.E.1. HOP 0556.

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Thursday, December 24—Saturday, December 26

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.45 a.m.-4.45 p.m. Whitehall, each day of 3-day picket. Details: Baker, Button End, Harston, Cambs. CND.

Saturday, December 26—Sunday, January 3

LANCASHIRE & YORKSHIRE: Coast to Coast Youth CND March. Leaves Liverpool noon Dec. 26; arr. Hull Jan. 3. Details: Eric Green, 31 Lamb Hill Close, Richmond, Sheffield 13 (tel.: 396634).

Sunday, December 27

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Christmas Social. Carols, etc. Visitors esp. children welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

Tuesday, December 29

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

Thursday, December 31

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

Starting Saturday, January 2

HARRINGTON, nr. Rothwell, Northants: radical rocket base demonstration. Volunteers apply at once to Direct Action Cttee., 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. (STAmford Hill 7062.)

Saturday, January 2

FELIXSTOWE: 2.45 p.m. 27 The Avenue, Trimley, St Mary. New Year Party. Hostess Iris Martin. Children catered for separately. PPU.

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Wide support for Direct Action leaders in jail

THERE has been widespread support for the six leaders of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War jailed for two months on December 15.

In the House of Commons within 48 hours 38 MPs asked the Home Secretary to advise the Queen to free the prisoners before Christmas.

"We are confident," they wrote, "that in this appeal we have the support of millions of Her Majesty's subjects and of democratic opinion everywhere."

The MPs noted especially the "integrity and good character" of the prisoners.

On December 16 Arthur Lewis, MP, tried to prevent the House adjourning for Christmas while "six decent, honest people are to languish in jail."

NOT ASKED

Leslie Hale, MP, supported him, pointing out: "We are making this request on our own responsibility and not because they have asked us."

The following day at Question Time in the Commons Mr. Silverman asked the Home Secretary if he had considered the case and would make a statement.

Keeping the six in jail, Sydney Silverman said, was "repugnant to the whole spirit of a free society."

There was "enough interest, enough importance and enough urgency" to justify a short debate that afternoon. Mr. Butler replied that it was open to the prisoners to appeal (within 14 days).

The prisoners themselves announced that there would be no appeal. The three men (J. Allen Skinner, Hugh Brock and Will Warren) were moved from Pentonville to Brixton Prison last week. Christmas cards sent there were forwarded automatically, Pentonville told Peace News.

The three women (April Carter, Pat Arrowsmith and Frances Edwards) remain in Holloway Prison. All six have been classified "civil prisoners" and therefore are not eligible for remission. They should be released on Saturday, February 13.

MOST ESTIMABLE

The court hearings were widely reported in the press, particularly the magistrate's remark that the six were "most estimable citizens." The Daily Herald's front page leading story was an editorial demanding their release. The Herald returned to the theme two days later in a front page editorial.

The Star and Reynolds News ran similar editorial comments, the latter headed "An Intolerable Injustice."

In many of the sympathetic comments there has been considerable ignorance of what the Direct Action Committee members were urging people to do. Many thought they were merely "handing out leaflets" instead of urging trespass on a missile base.

There has also been a desire to get the prisoners out of jail for Christmas. The Committee, however, did not want this sort of sentimentality and especially chose January 2 for their demonstration to avoid it.

Money for continuing work is being sent to the new Committee, and to its Relief Fund.

The London Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament also decided at its recent annual meeting to set up a relief fund for Direct Action campaigners in jail.

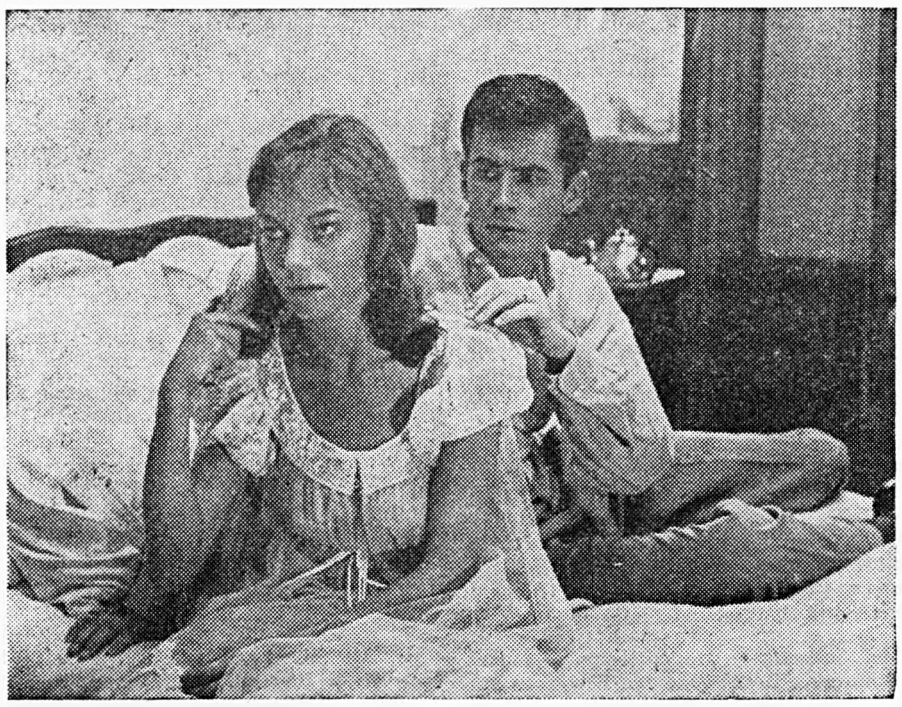
ON THE BEACH

ALAN LOVELL reviews

On the Beach. United Artists. Now showing at the Leicester Square Theatre, London.

A FILM THAT SUGGESTS WE SHOULD ABANDON ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNCONDITIONALLY; WHICH WAS PREMIERED IN 18 OF THE WORLD'S CAPITALS, INCLUDING MOSCOW; AND WHICH IS PERFECTLY SERIOUS IN INTENTION—"ON THE BEACH" DEMANDS ONE'S SYMPATHIES IMMEDIATELY. I WISH I COULD PRAISE THE FILM UNRESERVEDLY, UNFORTUNATELY, THE FACT IS, IT ISN'T VERY GOOD.

The film is primarily concerned with the reactions of five people as they await their certain death from the radiation that the weapons used in the Third World War released. This radiation is now slowly approaching Australia, the last place on earth where life survives.



Peter Holmes (Anthony Perkins) is distressed by the inability of his wife Mary (Donna Anderson) to accept the tragic reality that radio-active drift is approaching Melbourne after nuclear warfare has wiped out the Northern hemisphere, in a scene from Stanley Kramer's "ON THE BEACH."

Gregory Peck plays the American submarine commander who falls in love with an alcoholic Australian girl. The film traces their relationship to the point where radiation reaches Australia and the submarine crew decides to return to America to die. The third person is a nuclear scientist (Fred Astaire) who is obsessed by his own guilt in having helped manufacture nuclear weapons. Finally, there is the young Australian couple (Anthony Perkins and Donna Anderson) who are desperately trying to adjust themselves to the situation.

Characters and faults

They are all characters from women's magazine fiction—high class women's magazines, perhaps. While they are on the screen (which is most of the time) one can't believe in the film and one becomes increasingly bored by it. This is primarily a script fault, though Stanley Kramer's pedestrian direction doesn't help.

Part of the fault is also in the acting. Ava Gardener and Gregory Peck have always been totally incapable of acting in any way other than as characters from women's fiction; Anthony Perkins and Donna Anderson are not much better; and Fred Astaire is too lightweight an actor to play a nuclear scientist in this kind of situation.

"On the Beach" might have been saved if the background had been better realised. The end of the world is, after all, a fairly dramatic situation. But neither the script writers nor the director were able to comprehend the situation imaginatively. The film's attitude is conveyed only in two speeches made by the scientist and in a rather over-dramatic ending, which has a shot of a Salvation Army poster saying, "There is still time, brother," underlined by menacing music. It just isn't enough to stand against the slushy romanticism of the main story.

The end of the film reveals this falsity. The natural end to the romantic story is Ava Gardener waving goodbye to the submarine on the beach. The makers remember, however, that they have another purpose. So the shot of the Salvation Army poster is tacked on. The two sequences don't belong together and merely reveal the division in the film.

Suicide and hysteria

Only twice is the film able to suggest the real horror of the situation. The first is when we see hundreds of Australians collecting their suicide pills in a long orderly queue. The second is a sequence showing a wild hysterical car race, with the cars constantly crashing and being destroyed. The race is a powerful symbol for the position the film aims to take—that the world has gone mad and that people are unable to control the things they have created.

The failure of "On the Beach" underlines one important fact. It is no use hoping that the mass media will do our work for us. However serious the people inside the media may be, the machinery is almost invariably too much for them. If we are to get a worthwhile art, it will have to come from the independents who have real freedom. "A Time out of War," for instance, says more about war in 15 minutes than "On the Beach" does in two hours. It is our job to encourage the independents.

CND TO LAUNCH SYMPATHY DEMONSTRATIONS

THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament issued the following statement on Friday, December 18, after the Direct Action Committee had been jailed.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at its Annual Conference in March 1959 decided that its lines of activity should not include civil disobedience. The Campaign is not therefore actively participating in the plan of the Direct Action Committee to enter the Harrington rocket site on January 2.

We have respect and sympathy for those individuals who feel bound by conscience to take action of this sort leading to imprisonment, though we do not ourselves advocate it as a policy for the Campaign as a whole.

We are, of course, entirely opposed to the establishment of missile bases in this country and deplore the fact that in spite of the prospect of Summit talks they have now been made operational.

Thousands of our supporters are anxious to express by legitimate means their sympathy and respect for those now in prison and their opposition to the bases. The Campaign is, therefore, organising a number of demonstrations to provide an opportunity of protest in accordance with the policy of the Campaign.

The first will be at Rothwell, near Harrington, on the afternoon of Saturday, January 2. A further meeting will be held at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, at 2.30 p.m. on Sunday, January 3, and Regional Committees of the Campaign are being asked to organise similar demonstrations in Manchester, Leeds, Bristol and other cities.

"We hope," the CND told Peace News, "that supporters who have cars will join us at Rothwell (near Kettering) on the afternoon of January 2 and will bring as many people with them as they can.

"Campaigners in the London area requiring details of transport being arranged for parties should write to the Campaign at 143 Fleet St., London, E.C.4, or ring FLE 4175.

"For enquiries about the plans, ring GUL 1252 on Dec. 24, 25, 26 and 27. On Dec. 28 ring PRI 4938."

. . . plans for 1960

SOME of the future plans of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have been outlined by Canon L. John Collins in the November CND Bulletin. They include:

- Discussion of tactics and strategy in 1960 at the Annual Conference to be held early in the New Year;
- Publication of a restatement of the CND Charter;
- Another Easter March from Aldermaston to London;
- Production of "an informal and factual pamphlet" on the economic consequences of nuclear disarmament.

The CND has since announced that a mass meeting will be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on February 15, and that the Annual Conference of the Campaign will be held on March 12 and 13.

Ministry of Truth, 1984

"An officer's duty will remain the same—to submit anything he proposes to say to the War Office. His duty is completed when that has been done.—The Secretary of State for War, House of Commons, December 9.

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